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ABSTRACT

An overview is given of conditions linked to the causes and perpetuation of poverty. These factors include large family size, unemployment, lack of education, and social and personal disorganization. Family planning services are important but by themselves tend to be ineffective and programs should be launched which would improve the total life situation of the poor. Research-based evidence is presented regarding various anti-poverty programs, including parent education, individual counseling, job training, and use of paraprofessionals. An examination of "participation of the poor" in decision making capacities in programs which affect them is included. Multi-pronged intervention in respect to changing the secondary and tertiary systems of the poverty environment (housing, employment opportunities, health, welfare, legal, educational and vocational services) is recommended. Such an approach calls for multi-variate program research, for which a proposal is presented. (Author/NH)

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DESIGNS AND PROPOSAL FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD RESEARCH: A NEW LOOK: A MULTIPLE SYSTEMS-SERVICE APPROACH TO PROGRAMS AND RESEARCH FOR HELPING POOR CHILDREN

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A Multiple Systems-Service Approach to Programs and Research for Helping Poor Children

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BASIC PROPOSAL

The central proposition made here is that the most promising strategies for helping a sizeable proportion of poor children move out of poverty are multiple ones. Such strategies must be directed toward modifying the defective systems which constitute the roots of poverty and they must provide the coordinated services which are needed to aid individuals and families to take advantage of planned corrections in relevant systems. One of the major tenets of this proposition is that programs directed only to children, rather than to children as members of a dynamic family system, are bound to have limited -- and frequently negative -- effects in terms of the child's total development. This is not meant to imply, however, that all children are to be aided only in terms of their natural families. It is recognized that some families are unable to provide the kind of care that is essential to the child's best development.

The proposal presented here rests, in part, on incomplete but frequently impressive, pieces of evidence garnered from both basic and applied research. In sum, this research indicates the following major points:

(a) On the average, children brought up in "poverty" families and environments tend to suffer multiple deficits in all aspects of their development: physical, social, emotional, intellectual. These deficits tend to condemn them and often their children as well to continuing poverty. To a theoretically appreciable, but actually unknown extent, such deficits can be reduced in important ways by providing remedial programs designed to enhance children's developmental potential.

(b) In the past eight years or so, there have been a number of anti-poverty programs directed toward this and related goals. Assessment of the research components of these programs indicates that some have been based on a high level of sophistication, whereas others have been rudimentary or completely lacking. On the basis of the somewhat inconclusive evidence to date, these various "anti-poverty" strategies have yielded disappointingly limited results.

(c) When the evidence from this research is combined with program and population statistics, and with knowledge emanating from more basic studies plus theory and observations from the biological, social, and behavioral sciences fields, one is brought to a tentative, but strongly supported, conclusion: namely, that reduction or resolution of the "poverty syndrome" (including the developmental deficits of low income children) requires a comprehensive attack on the multiple causative factors involved. These factors include those in the larger, as well as the more immediate familial environment in which children live. This larger environment includes primary, secondary and tertiary systems, as will be sketched in succeeding pages.

Supporting evidence for the above summation will be presented later in this paper, with special emphasis on (b) above.

In light of the above summation, it is recommended that a series of experimental, comprehensive, multi-faceted long-range action and research projects be undertaken which seek to test: (a) whether it is realistically possible to manipulate systems and services so that they more effectively provide opportunities and aids for low income families and their children; and, (b) if so, what are the effects of these manipulations on low income study populations.

RATIONALE AND SPECIFIC PROGRAM PROPOSAL

There is abundant evidence that poverty (like all societal and individual problems) is caused by a multiplicity of interacting factors. Knowledge and understanding of systems theory and the dynamic interaction of multiple causes and multiple effects provides an increasingly sophisticated insight into the causation of human problems, together with implications of how they might be resolved or significantly reduced.

Today, these implications for resolution and/or reduction strongly indicate that problems of human development spring primarily from a "problem" environment. This viewpoint is relevant to the problem category under consideration here, that is, the stunted development and ineffective behavior of a large proportion of poor children.

At this stage of societal development the most serious environmental problems emanate from the primary social, economic, and political systems of our society and the defective action and interaction of these systems against the well-being of all people -- especially those at the lowest levels of society.

Systems that might be termed secondary are seen as employment, housing, transportation, and such organizational components of the community as police and the courts, zoning regulations, sanitation services, and the like.

The operation of secondary systems is largely dependent on the operation

of the primary ones but all are in dynamic operation with each other and with families and individuals. The same is true of tertiary systems: that is, those community facilities which provide health, welfare, educational, vocational, and recreational services.

The action component of this proposal includes a recognition of the defects in these primary systems; however, considerations of practicality and moderation preclude recommendations for programs that try to deal directly with changing these larger systems. The major focus, instead, is an experimental attempt to modify the operation of secondary systems and service organizations (tertiary systems). In a conceptual sense, it would seem that an important question before our society is whether we can sufficiently modify the operation of secondary systems and services to meet some of our pressing social problems (poverty being one) without having to press for major changes at the primary level -- governmental and political, operation of the economy, major social arrangements (such as the family as the chief child-rearing unit) and values (such as individual freedoms of choice).

As our society has attempted to grapple ineffectively with the impacts of the industrial revolution and its offspring -- the electronic and related revolutions -- it has focussed at different points in time on a variety of solutions to the human problems associated with industrialization and its numerous side-effects. The tendency has been to emphasize one approach or another, whereas a coordinated, simultaneous policy and program strategy is called for. During the past decades, major public policy and anti-poverty programs seem to have had a basically psychological orientation. That is, emphasis has been on effecting changes in the individual so that he might better adapt to the increasingly complex, urban society in which most of our people live.

Analyses of recent census data have revealed that families with incomes below the poverty line are much more likely than other families to have the following characteristics: little education, long term unemployment, large numbers of children, high rates of family breakdown (including divorce, separation, illegitimacy, desertion), and poor physical and mental health. They are also more likely than other families to hold attitudes and values which tend to be mal-adaptive to an "escape from poverty." These factors may be conceptualized as being both an outgrowth of the poverty situation and conducive to a continuation of poverty status. Figure 1 presents this concept graphically. Recognition of the factors shown in this diagram which from one viewpoint might be seen as developmental and behavioral deficits in poor people, has constituted the basis for a number of the anti-poverty programs: "Head Start", "Follow Through", Job Corps, Neighborhood Service Centers, family planning programs, adult education and job training, etc. Analysis of the results of these programs indicates that they have made only slight impact on the ability of a sizeable proportion of individuals to move out of poverty, as will be discussed in detail in a later section.

The relative "failure" of these anti-poverty programs might be interpreted in a number of ways. For example, one could view changes in the rate of poverty as solely a matter of the operation of the economic

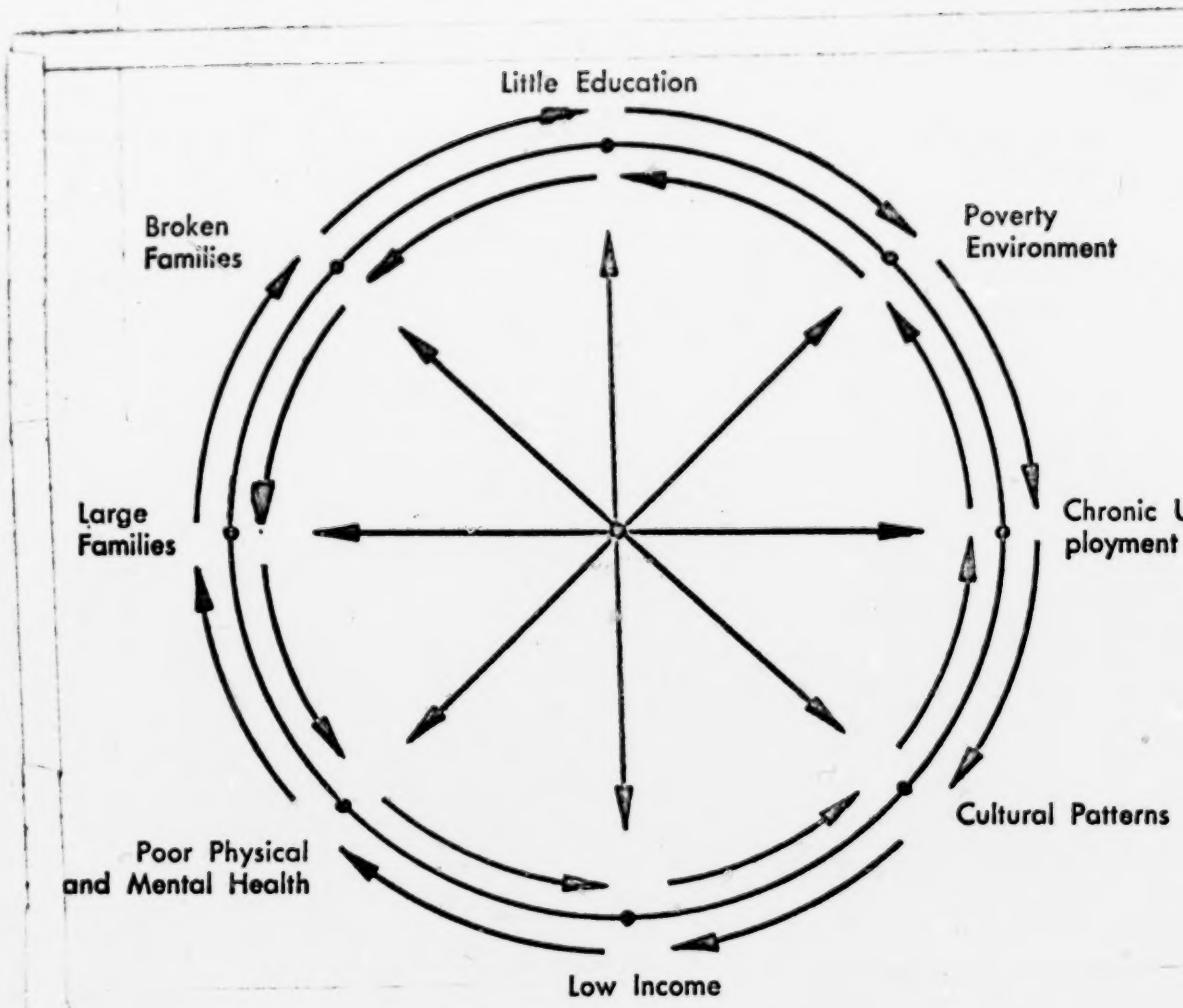

Figure 1. Interacting factors closely linked to the causation and perpetuation of poverty.

system; however, even in time of enormous economic growth -- as in the mid-sixties -- we had large numbers of unemployed especially among the poorly educated and poorly trained and among the young and minority group members. Or, one might argue that unemployment and under-employment is inevitable in a complex, technological society and that poverty is the natural result unless a far more generous public assistance program is made available to those who simply can't "make it" in a competitive society. Another possible interpretation could be that programs that have been launched would be effective in "upgrading" the poor, as individuals, if we had been willing to give these programs much more time and money with which to prove themselves.

One could also take a larger, more comprehensive approach to the matter, building on knowledge that we already have -- that individual development and behavior is affected in very important ways by the total environment in which individuals live. In our kind of contemporary society, few individuals can through their own efforts mobilize the individual strengths to escape harsh environmental adversities: this is especially true for the very poor, who are exposed to so many defeating experiences and who have such a long way to go to effect a real escape.

Recognizing the harsh importance of the defeating features in the environment, anti-poverty strategies of the 60's also included attempts to make "the system" more responsive to the needs of the poor and to increase the "power base" of the poor. Thus were born such programs as community action agencies, "participation of the poor" on boards of human service organizations, legal aid to the poor, "new careers" for paraprofessionals and the like. Although evidence as to the effectiveness of these program strategies is meager and not tremendously encouraging, it would appear feasible to further develop and refine these approaches as constituting some of the partial components of anti-poverty efforts.

Further steps in this direction are needed which will more comprehensively and surely make our various "secondary" systems work positively for the poor. For instance, jobs at adequate pay must be guaranteed for those parents and youth who want to work and this may mean public jobs to supplement lack of employment opportunities in the private sector. In addition, job-supporting service must be assured, such as transportation, child care, job training, on-the-job counseling, preventive and remedial health services. Decent housing must be available at prices that families can afford and located in communities which have adequate police, sanitation, recreational and related services. Equal protection before the law must be available to the poor and income maintenance must be provided at a level which lifts families above the poverty line.

The above provisions for an adequate basis upon which to build individual and family strengths is seen as being of primary importance to a remedial program aimed at increasing the poverty escape potential of poor children. These provisions would, therefore, comprise one component feature of experimental demonstration projects.

Assuring that the "secondary system" works for, not against, the poor may furnish a sufficient foundation for many families so that they

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can provide independently the other inputs that their children need for positive growth and development. On the other hand, it is likely that an unknown proportion of other families will need a host of health, welfare and educational services to enable them and their children to take full advantage of their improved environmental situation.

These services should be comprehensive, encompassing physical and mental health, social, educational, and vocational programs as well as coordinated and neighborhood-based. They should inlcude elements of parent and youth participation, the "new careers" concept, and delivery system features that are culturally and situationally relevant to the children and families served. This service program must be directly tied, moreover, to the modifications in the employment, housing, transportation, legal, and income support systems sketched above.

The above proposed tertiary program (another major component of the suggested experimental projects) should be primarily focussed on families with infants and young children, since there is impressive evidence that the first few years of life are of particular importance to the total development of the child. Persons served in this program might well include a number of economically independent blue-collar (Class IV) families, for the following reasons: (a) to constitute a comparison group for research purposes; (b) Class IV families might provide useful models of those just below them on the socio-economic ladder, (c) Class IV families also frequently need the kinds of systems and service aids that programs would be equipped to offer; (d) Class IV families have been overlooked in many anti-poverty programs and are understandably resentful; (e) Class IV families are often marginal families -- likely to be pushed back into poverty under adverse circumstances or, conversely, having the potential to rise to Class III status, given favorable opportunities.

A number of pilot projects (three at the very least) are needed in various parts of the country, with similar program features and research designs so that both the viability and effects of the experiment can be tested. Of course, in the long run, many more projects with systematically planned variations in both program features and the study population would be needed before any sort of generalization could be made. (For further details as to research design and methodology, see, pp. 49-53.)

RELATED RESEARCH AND THEORY: CHILD AND FAMILY

The related research and theory on which this proposal is based is far too extensive to spell out in detail here; thus, the reader will be referred to readily available reviews of research related to the more general concepts presented. Selected issues, especially in certain anti-poverty program research areas, will be presented in more detail, since this evidence is less generally known in the behavioral and social science field and less readily available in a large number of published resources.

INFANCY

There is some disagreement among researchers as to whether or not the

first few years of life are of such critical importance to the development of the child that deficiencies in care at that time cannot be made up later. However, there is agreement that this period of life is of fundamental importance to the total development of the child: physically, intellectually, emotionally and socially. Early deficiencies are at the very least extremely difficult to remedy at a later period. The role that genetic factors play in the development of the child is still unclear partly because it is so difficult to assess the multiple environmental factors that affect the child from the moment of conception onward. However, basic research in genetics is leading to a number of important discoveries that, in time, may well provide more specific guidelines than are presently available for what some have termed "genetic engineering."

There is a large amount of evidence which indicates that crucial importance of the physical health and nutritional status of the mother to the developing fetus. The mental health status of the mother also seems to be important, although the precise effects of emotional stress on pregnancy are not yet so clearly delineated. It is clear that expectant mothers, as much as for their own for their infants' sakes, need excellent nutrition, good medial care, and protection from physical and psychological stress during pregnancy, childbirth, and the following months. Moreover, studies of overall maternal and infant health indicate that frequent, closely spaced pregnancies constitute a serious danger to both mother and child.

It is well known that low income mothers are particularly likely not to receive adequate medical care and nutrition during pregnancy, are much more likely to be exposed to physical and emotional stress during this time, and are more apt to have numerous, closely spaced pregnancies. It is also well known that the rates of infant deaths and physical and mental defects are higher among the infants of the poor. Remedial efforts to correct this situation have included the establishment of maternal and child health services and family planning clinics in low income neighborhoods. It appears that such services frequently are used only sporadically or not at all by many low income families. The reasons for this poor utilization go beyond such factors as the poor quality or "cultural irrelevance" of these services; they include the impact of the total poverty situation on the life styles, motivation, and expectancies of the very poor. It would seem that the provision of high quality service, by itself, is not a sufficiently strong weapon to combat the multiple adverse effects of the total poverty environment and its defective systems (such as poor housing, community disorganization, inadequate transportation, unemployment, and the like).

The quality of care that an infant receives during the first two years of life is of extreme importance to his total development. Earlier studies were interpreted to indicate that the infant must be cared for by his own mother in order to develop adequately. However, later studies and reevaluations of earlier ones indicate that a substitute mother may do as well or better than the natural mother, providing there is a highly maternal person who can give the child the individualized, loving, consistent care that he needs, particularly to develop his sense of identity and trust. Multiple mothering would seem to have adverse effects on the development of the child especially in personality terms.

The finding that substitute mothers can do as well or better than natural mothers plus observation of the infant day care programs in other countries had led, in some quarters, to an enthusiastic endorsement of experiments in infant group care in this country. Question must be raised about this endorsement, for a variety of reasons, including the fact that there appears to be no carefully designed and executed research which examines the measured outcomes of this kind of care. Question must also be raised as to whether, in this country, enough highly maternal, competent women could be found and employed to provide a high quality of individualized infant care on a consistent basis to a large number of infants. This is not to imply that all infants must be cared for by their own mother. In fact we need to question more seriously than we have the potentiality of some mothers to provide adequate care for their infants and children regardless of numerous supports that might be devised for aiding the mother in this respect. In sum, it would seem premature to generally endorse the concept of infant group care for large numbers of babies (including the babies of the poor); on the other hand, earlier diagnoses of extremely inadequate home situations is called for, along with provision for substitute individual or group care for infants and very young children, together with careful study of the multiple effects of such arrangements. The ramifications of this issue are numerous but further discussion of this issue would seem to be out of place here.

Along with the finding that loving, consistent and continuous care by an adult is crucial to a child's sound development there are indications that this kind of care needs to be oriented toward the individual differences in infants that have been found to be present at birth. For instance, newborns vary in terms of activity, responsiveness to the world around them, and their zest for life. These differences appear to be a consistent tendency within the newborn child and such behavior tendencies may persist into adulthood. It is not yet clearly determined whether these tendencies are inherited or whether they are more closely related to prenatal conditions and to factors present at the time of childbirth (such as the length of labor and the like) (Escalona, 1968). It also appears that newborn babies differ in the ways in which they react to new experiences; some seem to withdraw from these experiences but others adopt a more confident approach. Moreover, infants differ in terms of intensity with which they seek and react to experiences, their feeling mood, and their style of concentration (Thomas, et al., 1963). It is clear that the infant will have a better chance for sound development, if his parents or substitute parents are aware of, and sensitive to, his particular individual style and take cues from him as to how he may best be handled.

The newborn needs a range of stimulating experiences to facilitate neurological development which is incomplete at birth. For example, it is important that the infant have light and a chance to see things in his environment so that his eyesight may be developed. He is affected by stimuli within his own body and by those provided by his environment. To varying degrees infants reach out for experiences around them; it is critically important to their development that the appropriate stimuli be available. Physical discomfort and monotony in the environment reduces a baby's sense of contentment and alert interest in learning. Hunger,

fatigue and physical ailments usually lead him to be less responsive and more backward in his behavior (Escalona, 1968). The child's development is best brought about if he has alternating periods of excitement, and times of peace and privacy. Although it is important that he have many stimulating experiences, over-stimulation can adversely affect his development. The longer an infant or young child is exposed to inappropriate or harmful learning experiences, the more difficult it is to change the course of his development. Stimulated, in large part, by the work of Piaget (1952), a number of researchers in the past six or seven years have turned their attention to an intensive study of infant developmental and experimental procedures for enhancing the intellectual and related capacity of babies through planned programs of stimulation (Richmond and Lipton, 1959; Caldwell and Richmond, 1964). It has been found that infants usually seek out stimulation and appear to have an innate drive for development of competence. They seem to need novelty and complexity rather than monotonous repetition (Hebb, 1955).

It is clear that highly disadvantaged parents are less likely to be able to provide the kind of stimulating environment that an infant needs combined with excellent physical care, good nutrition medical supervision, and competent sensitive mothering. The many strains and deficits imposed by the poverty environment tend to undermine parental ability and motivation to effectively meet the whole complex of needs for an infant to develop to his full life-potential.

The author would like to point out that in recent years there seems to have been an overly enthusiastic and specific focus on cognitive enrichment and cognitive development of impoverished children. The cognitive capacity of the child is but one important factor in his total development, not only in relation to considerations of the importance of overall socialization, creativity and physical and mental health but also in reference to the child's ability to use his cognitive capacity for effective learning, retention of learning and use of what he has learned. A single-minded focus on cognitive development in action programs, in contrast to such a focus in basic research investigations, is open to serious question both in terms of its practicality and in terms of what might be called the establishment of rather mechanistic goals that may have seriously adverse effects on the development of the "whole child."

Somewhat the same comment might be applied to a single-minded focus on the problem of malnutrition. Overly enthusiastic adherents of the "cure poverty simply and quickly cult" have recently embraced the notion that poor nutrition is at the heart of the poverty problem. While severe malnutrition in the early years of life, especially as found in the developing countries, apparently has clearly adverse effects on intellectual, physical and personality development, the situation is not so clear cut in this country where such severe conditions are not generally found. Although complex environmental factors in this country make it difficult to precisely isolate the effects of malnutrition on infants and young children there is evidence that malnutrition -- associated with illness and the many deprivations of poverty -- plays a part in retarding mental development. Correcting the effects of such malnutrition is far more complex than simply providing an adequate diet (Woodruff, 1968).

EARLY CHILDHOOD

The child from one to three years of age has generally been seriously neglected both by research and program personnel. The child of this age is still highly vulnerable in every aspect of his development. There is question as to whether developmental deficits that occur at this age can ever be adequately compensated for. It is clear that children of poverty families tend to have far more deficits in their growth and development during the first five years of life than do other children.

Despite the lack of enough research-based evidence, it is generally recognized by professionals in the social and behavioral sciences that this period (ages 1-5 years) is one in which the following developmental growth should take place: an increasing sense of individual identity, including sex and race identity; growth of independence and gradual resolving of infantile dependency relationships to parents; development of a positive sense of self worth, of competence, a sense of ability to control the environment (Smith, 1968; Rotter, 1966); increasing ability to control one's own impulses (for moral development); a sense of trust; and the acquisition of interpersonal skills. It is important that the child also build communicative and manipulative skills and gain control over his own bodily functioning. Important in the area of intellectual growth are cognitive development, acquisition of knowledge about the social and physical environment, development of comprehension and judgment, and the ability to retain and use learning.

All of the above aspects of growth are inter-related; faulty development in one area is very likely to adversely affect development in others. One might say that the long range goals for all children include: positive physical health, ability to behave in ways that are satisfying to the self and to the larger society, capacity to form satisfying and satisfactory relationships, ability to perceive realities with relative accuracy and to act appropriately upon the perception, and capacity to learn and use what one has learned. Goals of this kind are quite different from the limited goals often set by an overly materialistic society when it plans for the poor -- the goal frequently being to "turn tax eaters into tax payers."

Poor children are particularly unlikely to have opportunities for development of the kinds of characteristics given above. This lack of opportunity is related not only to deficits within their own families but is very much associated with deficits in the society that surrounds them. Research indicates that, for healthy development in social, psychological and intellectual terms, children need: firm, mild consistent discipline combined with steady nurture and support; adult models with whom they have a close, positive continuous relationship; acceptance by others as important, lovable unique individuals; ample opportunity for rewarded positive behavior; respect by others for their emerging personal, racial and sexual identity; opportunities for privacy as well as for a wealth of varied experiences; opportunities for development of a wide variety of communication and manipulative skills; positive experiences with others, including members of their own age group; meeting of basic physical needs and provision for physical safety and protection.

We have generally expected parents to meet most of the above needs for very small children. When children reach school age we tend to pass the responsibility to teachers. This expectation is far from realistic for poverty parents with their own deprived backgrounds and present adverse life situations. The life environment of the poor moreover is highly calculated to undermine the efforts of even the most competent, most loving parents. Furthermore, one could hardly expect teachers to effectively cope with children who come from such families and who are living in poverty neighborhoods, especially those of the inner city.

When one considers the developmental deficits of low income children and their families and the stresses to which they are daily exposed, there can be little wonder that the Head Start Programs have yielded so little measurable gain and that these gains have tended to be lost within a year or so. Although the methods of evaluation of the Head Start Program are open to considerable criticism (McDill, McDill and Sprehe, 1969; Williams and Evans, 1969), the program itself could not be expected, as a single intervention strategy, to compensate for the deprivations imposed by a complex set of primary, secondary, and tertiary systems that generally operate so negatively in their effect upon many children and families, especially those of low income status, particularly the minority group poor.

As Kohn (1969) points out in a recent review of lower and middle class differences and values "the essence of the lower class position is the belief that one is at the mercy of forces and people beyond one's control and often beyond one's understanding. Self direction -- acting on the basis of one's own judgment, being open-minded, being trustful of others, holding personally responsible moral standards -- is possible only if the actual conditions of life allow some freedom of action, some reason to feel in control of fate.... Thus, self direction requires opportunities and experiences that are much more available to people who are more favorably situated in the hierarchial order of society."

One might ask why the developmental deficits of very poor children have become such a critical issue in the past ten years or so when it was not seen as such a problem in earlier times. In fact, very recent history of the United States reveals that many members of poor immigrant families brought up in city slums have managed to do very well in educational and occupational terms. Not all of the answers to this question are readily apparent. Some of them include:

(a) the norms of today's society include rising aspirations for the achievement for all of its people;

(b) society has become increasingly complex and increasingly demanding of a high order of individual overall development if one is to rise above the poverty level;

(c) we have a less open opportunity system than was the case in an earlier period of rapid expansion with plentiful job opportunities for the unskilled;

(d) increasing urbanization makes problems both more visible and more severe;

(e) there is increasing social and self rejection of persons of low educational and occupational status.

FAMILY BREAKDOWN AND POVERTY

Poor people have far higher rates of family breakdown and marital conflict than do other people. This is related to an interaction of low income life styles and the poverty environment itself.

For instance Komarovsky (1964) notes that "unemployment and resultant poverty is a frequent problem in poor families. The threat of illness with its high cost is very real. Poverty, anxiety about the future, a sense of defeat, bleakness of existence, and failure of children affect the marriages in a number of ways. Men, feeling they are poor providers, become frustrated and anxious. This may lead to drinking, violence, sensitivity to criticism, and withdrawal. Wives become frustrated with their husbands' failures and subject them to criticism. The quality of the marriage plus a helpful network of neighbors and relatives offset in some cases the adverse effects of poverty. Partly because of extreme poverty, higher rates of marriage unhappiness are found for less educated than for high school groups."

The higher rates of marital breakdown, illegitimacy and marital conflict among black families is well known. These rates are associated not only with the higher rates of unemployment among Negroes but also with the impact of racism and its multiple corrosive effects on the black ghetto community and the people who live within it.

High rates of family breakdown among the poor have recently been blamed on the Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC) Program which denies assistance, despite contrary federal regulations, in over 25 states if the father is in the home. It is proposed, today, that an income maintenance system which would provide aid to intact families, would correct this problem. While such a system has much to recommend it, it is overly simplistic to assume that a different kind of public assistance system, by itself, would insure family stability among the poor. This is especially true when the proposed income maintenance is so far below the poverty line.

There are far too many assumptions that the broken family, in and of itself, causes serious problems in child development. Although clear evidence is somewhat lacking, it seems safe to assume that positive child development is best promoted in an intact home in which parents are happily married and competently assume their parental roles. However, there is not an easy relationship between the presence of the father in the home and favorable developmental outcomes for children. In a careful review of the related research, Herzog and Sudia (1968) point out many methodological weaknesses in most of the studies on this subject. The majority of them consider only one aspect of the child's behavior and not the whole complex of family interaction and the total life situation. For instance, not

enough attention has been paid to the fact that broken homes are highly variable. One should, for example, take into account the social and economic situation of the family; the reasons why the homes were broken (such as whether by death, divorce, separation); how the mother has reacted to the situation; and subsequent events in the life of the child and his family.

There are indications that children develop better in a home that has been broken by divorce or separation than in one which is torn by marital discord.

Because twenty-five to forty percent of urban slum children live in fatherless homes, it is important to define more clearly through further research what the differential effects are on both boys and girls under varying circumstances of mother-only homes. Bell (1966), for example, suggests that since lower class Negro families tend to be matriarchal and since the one parent family is accepted in this sub-culture, adverse effects on children may not actually occur. This may be especially true since the father, when in the home, tends to be harsh, authoritarian -- and unemployed.

Other researchers such as McKinley (1965) and Rainwater and Weinstein (1960) have pointed to the hostile, punitive, dominating patterns frequently adopted by the lower class father. These patterns may have a more adverse effect on both sons and daughters than the total absence of the father from the home. The behavior and role of the low income father has been dramatically depicted in such recent autobiographies as those by Claude Brown (Manchild in the Promised Land) and Malcolm X. These comments should not be interpreted to mean that it might be better if the low income father were out of the home. On the contrary, it suggests that low income adult males are particularly harshly affected by the total poverty system and that special attention must be given to this problem in effecting radical changes in the poverty environment.

CHILD-REARING PATTERNS AND POVERTY

An earlier review of research by the author (Chilman, 1966) seemed to indicate that the so-called sub-culture of the poor, including their child-rearing patterns, importantly contributed to "generation-to-generation" poverty.

Table number 1 presents, in highly condensed form, the chief features of these patterns found more often among the very poor (long-time unemployed, undereducated) than other groups. These patterns are seen as being an adaptive group response to the poverty situation; however, they appear to be the opposite of what research seems to reveal about child-rearing patterns associated with such child development outcomes as: educational success, mental health, social acceptability, and later marital "happiness." However, the close association between parental child rearing patterns and developmental outcomes is apparently not so close as had been assumed earlier.

TABLE 1*

Poor Families and Their Patterns of Child Care

Child-Rearing and Family Life Patterns More Characteristics of the Very Poor Compared with Patterns Associated with Successful Adaptation to Middle-Class Society

Patterns Reported to be Characteristic of the Very Poor	Patterns Conductive to Adaptation to Middle-Class Society
1. Inconsistent, harsh, physical punishment.	1. Mild, firm, consistent discipline.
2. Fatalistic, personalistic attitudes, marginal thinking.	2. Rational, evidence-oriented, objectives attitudes.
3. Orientation in the present.	3. Future orientation, goal commitment.
4. Authoritarian, rigid family structure; strict definition of male and female roles.	4. Democratic, equalitarian, flexible family structure.
5. "Keep out of trouble," alienated, distrustful approach to society outside family; constricted experiences.	5. Self-confident, positive trustful approach to new experiences; wealth of experiences.
6. Limited verbal communication; relative absence of subtlety and abstract concepts; a physical-action style.	6. Extensive verbal communication; values placed on complexity, abstractions.
7. Human behavior seen as unpredictable and judged in terms of its immediate impact.	7. Human behavior seen as having many causes and being developmental in nature.
8. Low self-esteem, little belief in ones' own coping capacity; passive attitude.	8. High self-esteem, belief in one's own coping capacity; an active attitude.
9. Distrust of opposite sex, exploitive attitude; ignorance of physiology of reproductive system and of contraceptives.	9. Acceptance of sex, positive sex expression within marriage by both husband and wife valued as part of total marital relationship; understanding of physiology of reproductive system, effective use of contraceptives.
10. Tendency not to differentiate clearly one child from another.	10. Each child seen as a separate individual and valued for his uniqueness.
11. Lack of consistent nurturance with abrupt and early granting of independence.	11. Consistent nurturant support with gradual training for independence.

TABLE 1 (Cont.)

Patterns Reported to be Characteristic of the Very Poor (cont.)	Patterns Conductive to Adaptation to Middle-Class Society (cont.)
12. Rates of marital conflict high; high rates of family breakdown.	12. Harmonious marriage; both husband and wife present.
13. Parents have low levels of educational achievement.	13. Parents have achieved educational and occupational success.

* This table, because it is so condensed, may be misleading since several topical fields have been merged (i.e., mental health, educational achievement, social acceptability, conscience formation, and family stability). For data differentiating these fields, see Chilman (1966).

For instance, Yarrow and Associates (1968) point out that both questionnaires and interviews regarding parental patterns and child-rearing outcomes have many limitations, including such factors as response bias, answers structured by the nature and form of the questions, errors in recall, etc. In view of such characteristic methodological weaknesses, it is important to reconsider seriously whether or not we actually have the clear answers from research that many of us have assumed we had in this area. Other investigators (including Moss, 1967 and Baumrind, 1968) call for close observational studies of the interaction bwtween parents and infants in both natural and structured settings in order to get far more precise information regarding the role of maternal attitudes, husband-wife relationships, and parental -- primarily maternal -- behavior and child development. Both Moss (1967) and Stolz (1967), among others, present evidence that the childrens sex, age, temperament and behavior have an important impact on parental behavior and attitudes. Further, Stolz (1967) concludes that the total life experience and situation of both parents, as well as their dyadic interaction, has a deep influence on the development of their children.

In view of these recent reexaminations and interpretations of existing research, it would be unwise to assume, as many have, that attempting to change the information, attitudes, and behaviors of parents in directions indicated by theory would automatically and favorably change the course of the child's development.

These comments are made to introduce caution in the uncritical acceptance of pre iously held conclusions. They should not be taken to mean that efforts to affect parental child-rearing behavior should be abandoned. For instance, careful observational studies do show that the teaching styles of lower class parents are quite different from and less effective than those of middle class parents (Hess and Shipman, 1965). Reports of research in family therapy sessions with highly disadvantaged parents and children also reveal a severe lack of interpersonal communication and mutual involvement between parents and children (Minuchin and Associates, 1967). Other observational studies yield similar results. Moreover, there is ample evidence that children of lower, lower class families generally achieve far less well educationally and vocationally than do children from more advantaged families (Darley, 1964; Blau and Duncan, 1967). To an unknown extent, such findings may be more basically related to the social and economic milieu itself rather than to parental patterns, per se. For it seems very probably that, to an important degree, low income life styles and behaviors grow out of the <u>situation</u> of poverty. They are deeply affected by the isolation of the poor in remote rural regions and restricted urban ghettos. They are seen by many as an adaptive response to failure, rejection, powerlessness, economic deprivation, inadequate services, community disorganization and all the rest.

Life styles are considered to be deeply ingrained in the personality and are found to be resistant to change, particularly those life styles that are embedded in the dynamics of the family network and reinforced by significant reference groups. Even if the situation of poor people were to be drastically changed a rapid, concommitant change in family related values, attitudes, and practices seems unlikely unless specific attention is given to programs that offer promise for promoting some change within individuals.

And programs directed specifically to promoting change in life styles would appear to offer a minimal chance for success unless the situation on which they are based changes at the same time. Thus, as recommended in this proposal, programs for improving the capacities and behavior of poor children must be directed in large part toward improving the operation of systems that so adversely affect them and their families as well as providing comprehensive remedial services.

FAMILY SIZE AND POVERTY

There is a tendency, in some quarters, to view high fertility rates as a particular problem preserve of the poor. While this is a somewhat inaccurate and myopic attitude, poor families are likely to differ from more affluent ones in terms of timing of family formation, child-spacing, and family size. For instance, a larger proportion of low-income families, than others, have more than five children. In 1962, 54 percent of the families with five children and 44 percent of those with six children had incomes below $4,000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1963).

Large families increase the problems of the very poor: a small income has to be divided into even more parts; harassed and inadequately prepared parents experience an added number of pressures; children suffer extra amounts of economic, physical, social, and psychological deprivations; housing and homemaking problems are increased; the marriage is likely to be strained to the breaking point; and a new generation of children grow up with a tendency to be trapped in poverty and failure (Chilman, 1968).

Alvin Schorr (1966) has recently analyzed certain family life patterns and their association with poverty. He notes that early age at marriage, early age of mother at birth of first child, large family size, children born more closely together, and a greater span of years of childbearing are patterns more typical among low income families, and these behaviors tend to keep such families poor.

Moreover, very young marriages, in which the bride is age 17 or younger, are apt to be more fragile than others. A number of studies show a close relationship between early age at marriage and later divorce, and a considerable body of research reveals that those who marry before age 22 or thereabouts are more likely than those who marry later to rate their marriage as unhappy by the time they have reached middle age. A very high proportion of the marriages of high-school students apparently involve premarital pregnancy, (Burchinal, 1963) so that the youthful bride and groom are likely to face leaving school, parenthood, and unemployment, or exceedingly low employment status, all in a short space of time.

From the woman's point of view, a large number of children born over a long period of years may well constitute a threat to her health and that of her children, especially in the case of babies born less than a year apart and those born while the mother is in her teens or when she is over the age of 32 or thereabouts (Kleegman, 1964).

Studies by Freedman and Combs (1966) involving 1,000 white, married women found that wives (with the first child) whose family incomes were

under $3,000 a year had married on the average at age 19, compared to first-parity wives with family incomes of over $9,000 a year, who had married at an average age of 22.7 years. A direct correlation was found between longer child-spacing, absence of premarital pregnancy, and greater accumulation of economic assets by the family.

There is considerable evidence (Oettinger, 1962) that working wives make a substantial contribution when they add their wages to those of their husbands and that this contribution makes it possible for many families to move above the "poverty line." For instance, half of the families who were in the $7,000-$15,000-a-year income bracket in 1962 owed part of the this higher income to the fact that wives, as well as husbands, were employed. Women who work during the early years of their marriage and defer pregnancy are more apt to have children spaced over a longer period of time and to belong to families which, over the years, achieve a better economic position (Schorr, 1966).

It is well known that there is a close association between low education and low income. Moreover, women with scanty education tend, on the average, to have a bountiful supply of children, as the figures in Table II indicate (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960).

The relationship between very low income and large family size is also partially related to rural residence or rural origins. Evidence is increasingly emerging that urbanized low income families tend not to be markedly larger than those of other urbanized socioeconomic groups (Freedman and Slesigner, 1961). Rural residence or recent rural origins apparently interact with very low educational levels in affecting large family size and difficulties in effective family planning (Whelpton, et al., 1966).

In summary, then, large family size is most likely to occur in the case of women who have the following characteristics: family income of less than $2,000 a year, unemployed and out of the labor force, rural residence or rural origins, and educational level of eighth grade or less. While urbanized low income families are less likely to have unusually large families, they are more likely than urbanized stable working class and middle income families to marry earlier and have their children sooner and closer together. These behaviors tend to lead to and be associated with continuing low income status.

The higher fertility rates of non-whites compared to whites can be accounted for largely by the following factors: predominantly rural origins of non-whites; higher rates of poverty (47 percent of non-white as compared to 14 percent of white families were below the poverty line in 1968); lower average amount of education, and higher rates of unemployment. In fact, Negro families with an income of over $7,000 a year tend to be smaller than white families of the same income level (Chilman, 1968).

Illegitimacy

Certain aspects of national trends and differential rates of illegitimacy are considered here primarily because of the highly disadvantaged

TABLE II

Education of Ever-Married Women, Aged 35-39 Compared to Number of Children Ever Born
(U.S. Census of Population, 1960)

Education of Women	Children Ever Born per Ever-Married Women
No education	4.7
Elementary	
1-4 years	4.5
5-7 years	3.9
8 years	3.3
High School	
1-3 years	3.1
4 years	2.8
College	
1-3 years	2.8
4 years	2.7
5 + years	2.5

position in our society of children who are born out of wedlock.

The illegitimacy rates (rate of illegitimate births per year to 1,000 unmarried women between the ages of 15-44) increased markedly between 1940 and 1966 for both whites and non-whites. The rate of illegitimate non-white births in 1962 was reported to be seven times that of white ones. However, the marked upswing in rates of illegitimate births occurred, for the most part, between 1940 and 1957 and have tended to level off in recent years. The following reasons for this higher non-white rate have been advanced by various scholars: (a) less frequent use of contraceptives and abortion among non-whites; (b) a greater tendency for reporting non-white illegitimate births; (c) less tendency among non-whites to engage in forced marriages to legitimize children; (d) less tendency to resort to abortion; (e) reluctance to lose a public assistance grant by admitting to a husband in the home; (f) the expense of divorce and legal separation; (g) a disproportionate number of non-whites at a low socioeconomic level; (h) high unemployment rates of Negro males (thus rendering marriage unattractive and unfeasible to both women and men); and (i) the impact of urbanization on rural immigrants and the associated breakdown of previously held life styles (Herzog, 1966a; Bernard, 1966). In connection with this last point, there is considerable evidence to indicate that high rates of illegitimacy in the United States are more an urban than a rural pattern for both whites and non-whites.

While the higher rates of non-white illegitimacy can be explained the severity of the problem cannot be overlooked. It would seem to be one of a number of factors in so-called generation-to-generation poverty. Out-of-wedlock children, in general, are less likely than others to get a good start in life. This tends to be especially true for those who are non-white. Poor non-white children and their mothers are far less apt than illegitimate white children and their mothers, especially those of higher socioeconomic status, to get the help and social services they need, and outlets for adoption of such children are severely limited (Herzog, 1966b).

The foregoing material indicates the close association between poverty, early family formation, close child-spacing, and large family size along with the further relationship between poverty and illegitimacy and the particular association between poverty, large family size, and being non-white. While these variables are not conceptualized as being in a one-to-one relationship, the data do make a strong case for the relevance of family-planning programs as one of the important services for poor people, especially when studies show that most of them reportedly prefer to have smaller, well-spaced families.

Child Development and Family Size

The importance of effective control of family size has been stressed here, primarily in terms of its cause - effect - cause relationship with poverty, and the overwhelmingly clear evidence that poverty, in its many manifestations is antithetical to sound child development, especially in the context of contemporary American society. There is also a growing body of evidence which indicates that large family size, per se, is likely

to adversely affect the over-all development of children. For example, various studies reveal that families with more than four children, even when controls are established for diffenences in socioeconomic level, are less likely to be viewed by the children as happy ones (Moore and Holtzman, 1962) and are less likely to produce self-reliant, outgoing youngsters who achieve well in school (Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Clausen, 1966). There is also mounting, though not completely conclusive, evidence that children from large families have lower intelligence on the average and achieve less well occupationally (Blau and Duncan, 1967). An analysis of 1962 Census data as to the educational achievement of adult men in this country shows that almost twice as many men from one-child families (73 percent) complete high school as do those from families of four or more children (39 percent). Even then only low-income families are considered, this trend obtains. This analysis shows that the amount of children's education is affected by the number of children in the family at every age and every socioeconomic level. A higher level of authoritarianism and use of physical punishment is found among families of five or more children (Clausen, 1966). However, further studies are needed in these areas, with careful consideration of possible associated variables before one can be confident that family size, alone, plays such a seemingly crucial role.

RESEARCH-BASED EVIDENCE REGARDING VARIOUS ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS

EFFECTIVENESS OF FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAM

The close association between poverty and both large family size and illegitimacy has led many anti-poverty planners to strongly endorse the development of family planning programs in low income neighborhoods. The point is frequently made that such services have typically not been readily available to the poor. Much effort has gone into establishing the most appealing kinds of services, educating the poor about the importance and effective use of contraceptives, etc. While such programs are important and directed toward immediate, readily observable service deficits in poverty neighborhoods, such strategies, by themselves seem unlikely to be highly effective. In fact, evidence indicates that family planning services for low income populations generally reach only half or fewer than half of their "target" group and that they are most unlikely to effectively reach the "hard core" poor.

The evidence, sketchily given in the foregoing pages, strongly indicates that large family size, illegitimacy, and ineffective use of contraceptives is more basically caused by the complex of deficits imposed by poverty itself: wide-spread unemployment, little education, social and personal disorganization, resultant fatalistic and alienated low income life styles, etc. Concomitant with the establishment of family planning services it would appear that programs must be launched to drastically improve the total life situation of the poor. In the framework of the basic proposals and rationale presented in the first section of this paper, this means that both secondary and tertiary systems must be manipulated so that the life conditions of the poor are improved in such a way that profferred services (tertiary systems) become relevant to them.

EFFECTIVENESS OF PARENT EDUCATION FOR LOW INCOME FAMILIES

Concern over the child-rearing deficits more frequently found in the families of the very poor, (especially such deficits as those related to so-called cognitive deprivation; inadequate verbal communication; low income life-styles; poor consumer, health, and meal-planning practices) has lead to growing endorsement of parent group education as one promising approach to the problem. However, it now appears that this approach, by itself, offers little promise for reaching large numbers of low income parents and bringing about important shifts in their patterns of living. Past analysis of parent education programs (Brim, 1959) indicated that they apparently had no measurable effectiveness and rarely reached and held large groups of parents. In the early 1960's the author of this paper, was perhaps, one of the most ardent advocates of devising new and more effective ways of attracting and working with low income families in group programs (Chilman, 1963; Shoemaker, 1965). Such methods as the following were advocated: reaching out to the poor, holding meetings in neighborhood centers, providing refreshments, using concrete activities based on the expressed needs of the parents, providing child care and transportation. Subsequently, however, through a 1961-63 review and analysis of programs of this kind, it became necessary to doubt whether these methods were effective in terms of (a) attracting and holding more than a few parents, (b) changing parent attitudes, and (c) affecting parental behavior (Kraft and Chilman, 1966).

This survey indicated that a number of agency leaders reported considerable difficulty in organizing and sustaining parent education efforts with low income clients. Attendance was often sporadic and many programs did not last more than three or four meetings. No formal assessment was made by the leaders of these various groups. One aspect of the assessment frequently encountered was the tendency to gauge success according to the announced practical goals of the project, such as improved housekeeping, but according to certain inferred therapeutic side-effects of participation in the program. Other measure of success were a simple count of numbers of participants.

A survey of parent education projects for low-income families carried out since that time (Chilman, 1970b), generally, but not universally, confirms the findings reported above. These findings are presented in highly condensed form, in Table III on the following pages.

Parents as Tutors

Another approach to working with parents of low income families has evolved in the past few years. Experimental projects have been under way which seek to enlist the cooperation of parents as tutors of their own pre-school children. Training for this role is provided by trained personnel who visit the home. The chief focus of these programs is on providing cognitive stimulation for disadvantaged young children within their own family environments. The apparently critical importance of the first few years of life in terms of intellectual development has been emphasized by a host of investigators, for example Deutsch and associates (1967), Bernstein (1962), Hunt (1964), Bloom (1964), and Hess and Shipman (1965).

TABLE III

RECENT REPORTED PARENT EDUCATION PROJECTS INCLUDING AN EVALUATION COMPONENT
(Chilman, 1970b)

Project Location	Project Director	Nature of Target Group	Program Focus	Average Reported Attendance	Measures of Changes	Measured Outcomes
Rural & Semi-rural Florida	Gordon ('67)	Low income mothers of pre-school children	Socializ-ing	About 10 percent of target group	None -- effort to organize group abandoned	None
Military Base: State of Wash.	Larsen ('67 - personal communication)	Middle class expectant mothers	Social & psy-chological support of expectant mothers & fathers	Almost none: conflict with fathers' work schedules	None	None
Urban: Wisconsin	Belton & Goldberg ('66)	Low income mothers of pre-school children (Head Start)	Indivi-dual & group meetings for Head Start mothers	Ten percent of target group	None -- group effort abandoned	None
Small city: North Carolina	Lewis ('67)	Low-income mothers of children in a summer educa-tional improve-ment program	Educa-tional & social enrich-ment for mothers	About ten percent of target group: sporadic attendance	Interview re. out-comes	About 5 percent were observed to improve some-what

TABLE III (CON'T)

Project Location	Project Director	Nature of Target Group	Program Focus	Average Reported Attendance	Measures of Changes	Measured Outcomes
Urban: Connecticut	Glickman ('68)	Low income mothers of pre-school children (Head Start)	Group counseling re. social and psychological problems	About twenty percent of target group	Assessment by social worker	Few observable benefits
Urban: California	Norris & Zegrer ('68)	Middle class mothers of school age boys with behavior problems	Mental health lectures and discussions	Thirty percent of target group	Pre-tests & post-tests of experimental & control groups re. mental health knowledge and ratings of sons' behavior; behavior ratings by teachers & psychologist	Gains by mothers in mental health knowledge and ratings of sons' behaviors; no changes in ratings of boys' behaviors by teachers or psychologists
Urban: Mid-West	Clarizio ('66)	Low income mothers of pre-school children (Head Start)	Intensive individual & group counseling re. social & psychological problems & support of children's education	Not reported	Experimental and control group; before & after tests of maternal attitudes toward education	No significant differences between groups

TABLE III (CON'T)

Project Location	Project Director	Nature of Target Group	Program Focus	Average Reported Attendance	Measures of Changes	Measured Outcomes
Small city: North Carolina	Borstelman ('64)	Three groups of mothers of first grade children: middle class, working class, lower-class	Aid to parents re. child's school achievement & handling of independence, responsibility, aggression	Not reported, but difficulties encountered in attracting both lower & middle-class parents	Questionnaire re. maternal expectations of child's behavior; experimental & control groups: before & after tests	Experimentals became more variant as a group: tended to hold original, but not desired, attitudes more strongly after exposure to group meetings
Eastern City	Herzog ('68 - personal communication)	Low income mothers of pre-school children in nursery setting	Aid to mothers re. child's overall development	About ten percent of target group	Observations, attendance records	Found parents preferred individual contacts, self-initiated, re. special problems of individual
One-hundred urban & semi-urban areas in the U.S.	Rosenblatt ('68)	Low income parents of children of all ages	Discussion groups, individual counseling, social action	Average attendance of about 8 parents for an average of eight meetings	Attendance; records of subject matter initiated by parents; interviews; measured attitudes on six items re. child rearing, aspirations, community facilities.	Some shift on self-rated attitudes, especially re. differentiation of children as individuals. No tests of statistical significance

TABLE III (CON'T)

Project Location	Project Director	Nature of Target Group	Program Focus	Average Reported Attendance	Measures of Changes	Measured Outcomes
One-hundred urban & semi-urban areas in the U.S. (con't)					No control groups; before & after measures.	
Middle-sized city: Texas	Hereford ('63)	Parents of school age children at all socio-economic levels; middle-class preponderantly	Discussion groups lead by volunteer lay-leaders trained for non-directive group leadership. Focus on mental health	Meetings held for 20 groups of a total of a 926 parents. Probably a small proportion of target group. Some attendance sporadic	Before & after interviews; attitudes re. parental confidence, understanding of behavior causes acceptance of child. Self-selected experimentals & control groups: teacher ratings of child behavior; sociometric tests at school	Pre-tests & post-tests, attitude surveys and interviews for 40 percent of group, probable bias as a result. Attitudes showed significant change for experimentals but not controls: teacher ratings showed no changes in child behavior; sociometric measures showed gains in children's social acceptability

TABLE III (CON'T)

Project Location	Project Director	Nature of Target Group	Program Focus	Average Reported Attendance	Measures of Changes	Measured Out omes
Three Penn. communities: urban & rural	McInerney, Durr, Kershner, Nash ('68)	Parents of disadvantaged children in special kindergarten & first grade enrichment project	Individual counseling & social action, involvement with school as classroom aides, Help by teacher-social worker team	About 75 percent of target group	Observations, interviews with small portions of group at points in time (several months)	No measured changes found; social workers report improvement of parents in terms of more responsive & responsible behavior; reports somewhat impressionistic

It seems likely that many children of poverty are so handicapped by early stimulus deprivation that their chances for educational success have already been severely handicapped by the time they reach kindergarten and/or first grade. The relative lack of cognitive stimuli, so important to intellectual development, in most of the homes of the very poor has also been well documented (Hess and Shipman, 1965; Deutsch, et al., 1967; Caldwell and Richmond, 1964; Bernstein, 1962; Pavenstadt, 1965). This evidence has led to the thought that parents of infants and/or pre-school children might be taught to use different and more cognitively stimulating child-rearing styles. Bringing parent education of this kind to the home, rather than asking parents to bring their children to pre-school centers has seemed worth trying, partly because of the difficulties encountered in attracting disadvantaged parents to such centers or group meetings. The principle of involving parents as tutors for their own youngsters has also been related to the increasingly wide-spread philosophy of parent participation. Thus, a number of carefully designed research projects have been developed in the field of home-tutoring for disadvantaged young children, some of them directed also at the mothers and some of them more or less incidentally including the mothers. A review of these projects is presented in summary form in Table IV (Chilman, 1970b). Perusal of Table IV reveals that home tutoring projects have been carried out in both urban and rural areas of the east and midwest. All are directed toward infants or pre-school children; all are primarily aimed at cognitive stimulation of these children and, to a greater or lesser extent, the involvement of their mothers as tutors for such stimulation. All include home visits; some include participation of mothers in the pre-school program; one includes field trips. All have formal research components with clearly defined goals, experimental and control groups, and specific, but different, methods of measurement. Most provide clues that family problems such as marital friction, father absence, maternal employment, paternal resistance, large family size, personality problems of mother, low maternal aspirations, and inadequate family income played an important part in whether or not the mother was able and/or willing to carry out her role as assistant tutor to her infant or young children. (Space limitations prevent listing of these details on Table IV). Most of these projects are still in process and further measured outcomes will be available in the future.

These home-tutoring programs constitute a new trend in the parent education field and, in most instances, show promising results in that, in most of them, the children show small but (usually) significant gains in intelligence. The research program at George Peabody College for Teachers (Miller, 1967) promises important explorations as it seeks to discover whether pre-school alone or pre-school plus home visits makes a "maximum impact". In this project, the process of assessing changes in the measured intelligence of the mother, as well as the child, appears to be an important added dimension. This variable might well be examined in other such programs.

Questions must be raised, however, as to the advisability of such a goal-specific approach as cognitive enrichment as a major strategy in combatting poverty when this approach is translated into large-scale programs and policies. After all, cognitive enrichment is primarily

TABLE IV

HOME TUTORING PROJECTS INVOLVING DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN AND THEIR MOTHERS*
(Chilman, 1970b)

Location	Investigator	Target Group	Program Focus Method	Outcome Measures	Outcomes
Rural & semi-rural Florida	Gordon ('67)	Low income mothers of infants	Early stimulation of infants through weekly home visits and mothers taught as tutors by working class mothers who have been training as parent educators.	Rotter's Social Reaction Inventory. Measured self-concept. Reports of home-visiting parent educators. One experimental two control groups.	Measured results not yet available. Observations that mothers vary in level and degree of cooperation with project: related to their own aspirations and abilities for upward mobility and family situation.
Urban: Tenn.	Klaus & Gray ('67)	Low income mothers of preschool children who are in intensive preschool program.	Home visits to mothers by teachers trained in child development to interest mother in child's educational development and to encourage mothers to visit school.	Open-end questionnaire and informal observation; experimental & control groups.	Mothers were reported overwhelmed by work and family problems. Used teacher as catharsis experimentals; seemed to gain in supporting child's education.

TABLE IV (CON'T)

Location	Investigator	Target Group	Program Focus Method	Outcome Measures	Outcomes
Urban: Tenn.	Miller ('67)	Low income mothers of children in pre-school program	Cognitive stimulation. Four groups: a) both mother and child attend school: child 5 days; mother, one b) only child goes to school c) home visitor teaches mother and child at home d) no intervention	Pre- and post-tests of mothers' intelligence on WAIS	All groups showed gains in measured intelligence: greatest gains for groups (a) and (c). One-third of mothers in group (a) have enrolled in high school
Urban: Mich.	Weikart & Lambie ('68)	Disadvantaged four-year olds and their mothers	Cognitive stimulation: Visits to homes once a week by teachers; field trips	Observations and ratings of mothers by teachers; experimental and control groups	Children who gained the most had the least effective mothers; mothers showed a wide range of behaviors from resistive to highly involved; progress toward increased involvement for some experimentals made a greater change in favorable attitudes toward school

TABLE IV (CON'T)

Location	Investigator	Target Group	Program Focus Method	Outcome Measures	Outcomes
Urban: New York	Levenstein ('68)	Disadvantaged 2 & 3 year-old children and their mothers	Weekly home visits. Social worker gives cognitive stimulus for children and works for increased parent-child interaction. Educational toys used - brought as gifts.	Experimental & control groups. Self-rating scales for mothers and ratings of parent-child interaction based on social worker observation.	Measured outcomes not yet available. Reports of enthusiastic cooperation by mother
Urban: Maryland	Schaefer ('68 - personal communication)	Low income mothers and pre-school children	Cognitive stimulation of child; involvement of mothers if she wishes. Visits by tutor to the home	Multiple observations and depth interviews with mothers	Close association between hostile maternal non-involvement and child's hostile maladjustment, low measured intelligence and low rated task orientation. Preliminary findings.

*Only the research components that relate to parents are presented in this Table. In general, all these projects showed some gains in the measured intelligence of the children. Research related to children is not the focus of this chapter.

aimed at only one of the important factors in the causation and perpetuation of poverty: failure in educational achievement. The importance of this failure and some factors associated with it has been emphasized by a host of investigators, for example Deutsch and associates (1967), Bernstein (1962), Hunt (1964), Bloom (1964), Hess and Shipman (1965). The relationship between lack of educational achievement and poverty is also revealed by national figures, obtained from the Census and other surveys (Darley, 1964; Blau and Duncan, 1967). However, this relationship is not a simple one-to-one association as many have seemed to assume.

It would seem to be overly narrow to focus major action programs primarily on the importance of bringing about specific education-related changes in the individual child and his parents, usually his mother. While there are research-based reasons for being concerned about effecting specific relevant cognitive changes in the young child and his parents, this emphasis would seem to overlook other factors when it is translated into recommendations for anti-poverty programs and policies. These factors include those that are associated with the sound <u>total</u> development of children and their parents and, of even greater importance, those larger systems factors that tend to prevent an escape from poverty on the part of individuals and families.

<u>Effectiveness of Case Work, Counseling, and Psyco-Therapy in Working with Very Poor Families</u>

There is little evidence that individual counseling with low income parents or children has positive effects in measurably reducing their problems or changing their behavior. In a review of the research regarding the effectiveness of psycho-therapy (Gioscia, <u>et al</u>., 1968), it was reported that social class has been found to be a factor of over-riding importance in determining the availability, quality, and outcome of psycho-therapy, with middle class and upper class patients being those who are most likely to have favorable outcomes. "Over the years, especially during the 1950's, many studies were published describing the good therapy prospect. Some of the patient characteristics associated with positive psycho-therapeutic change are products of life-long development such as intelligence, verbal facility capacity for insight, and educational and occupational achievement. Other characteristics such as expectations of the usefulness of therapy are important. A third set of factors relates to the severity and duration of illness, acuteness of onset, and degree of precipitating stress. In short, patients who are young, phys cally attractive, well-educated members of the upper middle class, intelligent, verbal, willing to talk about and responsibility for their problems, possessing considerable self-esteem and no signs of gross pathology are those who are welcomed by therapists as good risks.... In a sense, the mental health field has over-extended itself in the public mind and consequently often assigned tasks which it may be unable to handle. Thus, courts, schools, welfare departments, and recreational programs often seek psycho-therapeutic services when, in fact, psycho-therapy has not been demonstratively effective for the population groups involved. Indeed, it is becoming apparent that the population groups most in need of large scale assistance in adapting their behavior to cope with prevailing social expectations are the groups who profit least from psycho-therapy as traditionally conducted. There are however,

exceptions to this generalization and these areas need intensive study" (Gioscia, et al., 1968).

Studies of case work efforts, as practiced by the usual social service or counseling agency, generally reveal equally discouraging results. This does not necessarily mean that social or mental health services to individuals should be abandoned. Rather, it would seem to suggest that, as in the case of Head Start programs, programs aimed primarily at improving individual functioning are highly unlikely to succeed unless, simultaneously, strong programs are launched aimed at changing the defeating and debilitating aspects of the poverty environment, itself. Social services, by themselves, cannot be expected to be effective unless, along with these services, changes are made in such features of the poverty environment as community disorganization, poor housing, inadequate public assistance, lack of well paying jobs, and all the rest.

EFFECTIVENESS OF JOB-TRAINING PROGRAMS

Chronic unemployment and underemployment of disadvantaged members of society has been a continuing problem even in times of general prosperity. Although many jobs are available, they require far higher levels of education and skill than the long-time poor generally have. This is particularly true for disadvantaged minority groups. For example, in 1967 the unemployment rate of disadvantaged males was estimated to be 34% in a sample of cities throughout the country.

Underemployment is also a pervasive, but less obvious problem. People with little education and few skills are likely to find only seasonable or part-time jobs if they find work at all. Many of these jobs are not covered by minimum wage provisions, and some are not covered by Social Security legislation. Then, too, many of these jobs are non-union and thus employees lack the protection of organized labor. Even if a parent works full-time at the minimum wage he will not be able to move his family out of poverty if he is a city dweller and has two or more children. In order to earn a minimally adequate income, it is estimated that a father must work full-time and a mother at least half-time, if both work at the minimum wage, have several children, and live in a city (Carter, 1968).

On the average, women are paid lower wages than men receive. This is particularly true for black women. For example, in 1965 black women who worked full-time throughout the year earned a median income of $2,700 compared to $3,700 for white women. Comparable figures for males were $4,000 for blacks and about $6,200 for white men. It is clear that, on the average, women (especially black women) cannot hope to earn enough, even if they work full-time, to support a family of two or three children, particularly if they live in cities. It is also clear that they would not earn enough to pay for the care of their children while they work (a very large proportion of disadvantaged women with low earning potential have children under the age of six). It is obvious that child care facilities such as day care centers are absolutely essential for a large proportion of working women if their children are to be given adequate care and particularly so if these women are the sole wage earners for the family.

The employment problems of poor people, especially the non-white poor, have a severe impact on the development of children in a wide variety of ways. Not only are these children condemned to growing up in poverty and all the disadvantages that this brings, but they are oriented early in life to frustration and failure. They lack the experience of having parents who cope successfully with the field of work.

A review of programs aimed at training the educationally and vocationally disadvantaged has revealed that the presence of a job which is available to the persons who is being trained is just as important, if not more important, than job training, remedial education, and the provision of other services. Special attention must be paid to people who live in areas of overall poverty where employment opportunities are not available. Training is of no avail unless employment opportunities can be brought to the region or unless provision is made for helping the person go where the jobs are, and for supporting him while he is making an adjustment to the new location.

The development of enough jobs for the disadvantaged and the otherwise handicapped very likely requires a further expansion of jobs under public auspices. Intensive study of the job market and the characteristics of the severly disadvantaged, unemployed or underemployed strongly suggests that private business and industry is and will be unable to offer full employment at adequate wages to all of these people. It is apparent that jobs under public auspices are essential to a far greater extent than is now the case. They are needed not only to provide employment for those who otherwise would not be able to find adequate work; they are also needed because of the large unfilled gaps in our public services and the lack of employees to perform necessary work, especially in the human service fields (Sheppard, 1968).

Further expansion of work opportunities in public human services might well be a significant factor in expanding many of the programs that are needed to provide services for the poor. Parents and youth might serve in these programs as aides to professional personnel. Such work is of great potential use to society and is related to expanding career opportunities in the human service occupations.

EFFECTIVENESS OF PARAPROFESSIONALS PROGRAMS

Great enthusiasm has developed during the past five or six years regarding the use of paraprofessionals in such human service fields as education, physical and mental health, and welfare and anti-poverty programs. While this growing trend has much to recommend it, little research is available as to the effectiveness and outcome of such programs. Despite the paucity of research a fairly extensive literature has been developed on this subject (Millman and Chilman, 1968). In general these publications stress such factors as the following:

1. The critical employment needs of the very poor.
2. The severe personnel shortages in the human services field.
3. The communication gap between the poverty population and the middle class personnel who generally man the human services programs.

4. Defects in the delivery systems of health, welfare and educational services.
5. Defects in the services, themselves, particularly in relation to their lack of fit between the life styles and situations of the very poor and the content and structure of most of our human services programs.
6. Observed effectiveness of paraprofessionals in such jobs as teacher aide, community organizer, physical or mental health aide, communications agent between members of poverty groups and professional personnel, and the like.
7. Recognition that we are in a period of social and economic upheaval; that rapidly advancing technology and urbanization are creating a profoundly different society. This situation necessitates vast changes in our social institutions if they are to be effective in meeting human needs.

Cogent as are the arguments and observations for the expanded training and employment of paraprofessionals in new jobs or in jobs which formerly required high levels of education and professional training, we still do not have research-based knowledge regarding the effectiveness and impact of this development.

Although it is true that there is very little research which has been addressed to the question of the effectiveness of paraprofessionals as employees, it should be pointed out that there is also a paucity of research-based evidence which shows that advanced education and professional training necessarily guarantees the effectiveness of such professional personnel as teachers, social workers, counselors, nurses, and the like. The importance and validity of educational and training requirements in these fields has been largely based on convictions rather than validating studies.

A few studies are available which indicate that a variety of problems may arise in the training and/or employment of paraprofessionals. For example, one intensive clinical study (Rutledge and Gass, 1967) of the problems and progress of 19 Negro men in nurses' training revealed that a number of difficulties frequently appeared: for instance, virtually all of the men were extremely anxious and were likely to "leave the scene" in the face of even slight pressure. This anxiety stood in the way of effective communications with their trainers, hospital patients, and each other. These men were apt to engage in the fantasy that they might be lucky enough to get much better jobs if they simply dropped out of training and took their chances. They also had difficulty in taking tests because of fears of failure. Moreover, their training stipends were so low that they frequently had economic problems. Then, too, their wives were apt to raise objections about their husband's absorption in the training program since they were not accustomed to strong work commitments on the part of their mates.

Individual and group counseling, in the opinion of the authors of this report, were important factors in helping the men complete their training and obtain employment. The authors suggest that supervisors and trainers in projects of this kind should have recourse to psychological

consultants who can serve as resource people in handling personality difficulties that are likely to arise; they also suggest that adequate training stipends be made available and that counseling services be offered for the families of trainees as well as for the trainees themselves. However, it is important to note that this project had no control group in which training was offered without the provision of intensive counseling services to the trainees. The effectiveness of this counseling cannot be adequately judged without studies which employ alternate modes of training experiences.

Employment in the Office of Economic Opportunity Programs

Various evaluations of the Office of Economic Opportunity programs have indicated that those who actually obtain employment in such projects are apt to be the least disadvantaged among the poor. There is a tendency to "cream the unemployed." While it is understandable that employment preference would be given to those who appear to be the most employable, this practice fails to reach those who most need employment opportunities, Moreover, success associated with this practice fails to prove that the more seriously disadvantaged can be successfully trained and employed in the human services professions.

The Importance of Available Jobs

There are a number of indications that selection and training are far less critical factors in the actual succesful employment of paraprofessionals than is the employment situation itself. The availability of jobs and the readiness of employers to hire paraprofessionals would appear to be a far more critical factor in their actually finding and holding a job. In an analysis of training outcomes in 15 different school districts, it was found that many of the trainees who successfully completed their course could not find employment because schools failed to offer them jobs. This failure was frequently related to the reduction in federal funding which had previously been available. It was also related to the resistance of schools to provide for teacher aide positions (Bowman and Klopf, 1968). In an analysis of job training programs for the unemployed under the aegis of Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act, it was found, again, that successful outcomes of training programs were far more related to the availability of suitable employment than to the training component or the characteristics of the trainee. One intensive study of a Title V project showed that when women were intensively trained as teacher aides in pre-school and day care programs in Los Angeles, they were unable to secure work as child-care workers because: (a) federal funding had been reduced for Head Start and day care programs, and (b) state certification requirements prevented their obtaining work as teacher aides in programs associated with the Public Educatior System. (These requirements called for at least two years of college education). (Corey, 1970).

Training of Teacher Aides and Other Auxiliary Personnel

More details are in order concerning the Bowman and Klopf 1968 study referred to above. This study involved an analysis of 15

demonstration programs financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity during 1966-67 related to the training of auxiliary and teacher aide personnel for employment in the public schools. Analysis was carried out largely by observation, interviews, and the use of questionnaires concerning the role perceptions of the trainees and the instructional staff. Data were also gathered as to the individual characteristics of each training program. The criterion of success in these programs was measured primarily by the role perceptions of the trainees both before and after training.

The purposes of this study were as follows:

1. To contribute to an understanding of the possible problems and values that might be realized through the utilization of auxiliary school personnel with special reference to the utilization of low income workers.
2. To identify those aspects of role development, training and institutionalization of auxiliary personnel which either block or facilitate constructive outcomes for pupils, parents, teachers, and the auxiliaries themselves.
3. To formulate hypotheses as to principles and practices which appear to be effective in the collaborative utilization of professionals and non-professionals of the educational enterprise.

In a statistical analysis of factors that correlated with the criterion of success in the program (that is, changes in major role perception), it was found that "the difference among processes in the training programs is likely to have a greater effect on success in the program than the personal characteristics of the auxiliary trainee."

Great caution should be used in interpretation of the findings from this project. The criterion of success (measurement of role perceptions) might or might not be associated with actual role behavior in the job situation. It is well known that there is frequently a very large gap between stated attitudes and actual behaviors. In reference to the recommendations flowing from this evaluation of 15 projects (with more intensive study of five of them) it should be noted that the findings and recommendations are based on observation and judgment carried out in an informal manner and lacking in the more formal precision that one might wish for in a rigorously designed and executed program research project. On the other hand, this study yields many important clues for later, more precise investigations.

A more rigorously designed and analyzed study of the effectiveness of various training approaches has been carried out at DARCEE (Rubow, 1967). This investigation sought to assess the effectiveness of three approaches to in-service training of teacher aides working in one of eight Head Start Centers in Clarksville, Mississippi. The experiment included three experimental groups of eight trainees each who had been randomly selected from a population of 88 aides. One experimental group was trained through participation in the classroom followed by later discussion of the experience with the teachers; another group was trained through lecture and discussion, but no participation in the classroom; a third group was

trained by a combination of the above methods. The impact of training was measured by three different methods: a semantic differential test to measure change in attitudes, a behavior observation scale used by two trained observers, and an objective test of knowledge in child development and pre-school curriculum. Scores obtained by these three groups were compared to those obtained by a comparison group that received no specific training.

Analysis of the findings failed to reveal overall, clear-cut results strongly supportive of any of the various forms of training. It was found that the groups that received specialized training did show a significant shift in positive attitude toward the self. Moreover, those who were given training had significantly higher scores on the test of information than the comparison group (Note, other studies have raised questions about the relevance of tested knowledge about child development and the like in its effect on actual child-caring behavior) (Chilman, 1970a).

According to the DARCEE investigators: "Perhaps the most significant finding that was obtained in this study was the extremely high correlation between the classroom performance of the teacher and the classroom performance of her aides.... these high correlations suggest that: (1) teachers may have significant influence on their teacher aides' classroom performance; (2) teacher aides may have a significant influence on their teacher's classroom performance, and/or (3) teacher aides and teachers working on the same teaching team may significantly influence the classroom performance of each other. The most tenable of these alternatives would appear to be an interaction hypothesis. A crucial question left unanswered by this analysis is the means by which the team members effect each other positively and how such an effect can be enhanced" (Rubow, 1967).

Studies of the Impact of Paraprofessionals on School Children

A few studies have been carried out which seek to learn what impact the use of non-professionals in educational settings have on children's learning. Many of these studies are measures of reading performance. Such measures have their drawbacks because of their limited scope and the possibility that they may be measuring increase in test-taking skills rather than reading itself. A Minneapolis study of 234 kindergarten children in regular and teacher aide assisted classes revealed that the second group had an average total readiness gain of 15 points compared with an average total readiness gain of 10 points from the first group. (Readiness was measured in terms of reading and number readiness.) (Teacher Aide Project, 1969). In Greenberg, New York, performance of second grade classes with an aide was compared with similar classes of the previous school year when no aides were present. Measurements on the Metropolitan Achievement Test showed that somewhat greater gains were made by this aided group. "The project's director concludes that the introduction of the teacher aide was responsible for this outcome" (Riessman and Gartner, 1969).

It is important to recognize in such studies as those quoted above that tests of significant differences between groups have not been made.

Moreover, the gains made by the experimental groups would seem to be not particularly greater, in a practical sense, than those made by the control groups. Other projects of the above type are often quoted, but they seem to rely more on the impression and belief of observers than on more careful research.

Studies of tutoring programs that make use of paraprofessionals have produced encouraging results.

> Research conducted at the Department of Psychology, Indiana University, on a tutoring program where paraprofessionals, trained with a total of 21 hours of program instruction, then successfully tutored first grade children, fifteen minutes a day, five days a week, in some 50 projects in twelve states have shown remarkable results in reading performance on the part of the children. Indeed the entire field of tutoring is one on which paraprofessionals have accomplished great results. The New York Board of Education, in reporting on a program conducted by the model anti-poverty program, Mobilization for Youth, states that over a five months period where older children (themselves poor students) tutored younger children with reading difficulties, those tutored gained six months compared to a control group's gain of 3.5 months, while the tutors gained an extraordinary 2.4 years compared to a control group gain of seven months. A leap of this magnitude is the order of achievement that we must strive for in the introduction and use of paraprofessionals (Riessman and Gartner, 1969).

Other promising results emerged from another program sponsored by Mobilization for Youth. In this program paraprofessionals trained parents to read to children. Studies done on the youngsters who are first grade pupils from predominantly Puerto Rican families indicate that the children whose parents were trained one hour per week scored higher on nine different reading tests than did matched children who received two hours of remediation per week from professionals, or a control group.

Further careful studies of the teacher aide and tutoring approach compared with others are clearly indicated "for the evidence is slim and indirect as to the impact upon pupil performance of various teacher activities which often result from the introduction of paraprofessionals. Do paraprofessionals, indeed, allow teachers time to give more individualized attention to children, to spend more time in preparation both in school and at home, and to improve the climate for learning?" (Chilman, 1970a).

EFFECTIVENESS OF "PARTICIPATION OF THE POOR"

Although there has been considerable enthusiasm for the principle of "participation of the poor" in a number of quarters, very little research evidence is available as to how viable and effective such participation is.

The objectives of increasing participation by the poor on advisory and policy-making committees of health, education, and welfare boards might be said to be the following: reduction of sense of alienation, enhanced power to affect decision-making processes, improvement of communication between the poor and non-poor, and socialization of the poor to facilitate their upward "mobility". An examination of the somewhat fragmentary related research and theory (O'Donnell and Chilman, 1969) is presented below.

Reducing Alienation

That the poor feel alienated from social institutions, there is no doubt. Indeed, alienation is increasing in many segments of society (Harris Suvery, 1968). The fact that poor people have been virtually excluded from organizational life is indisputable (Freeman, Novak, and Reeder, 1957). Efforts made so far to include low income people in community programs have been mostly token and sporadic. Many institutions are criticized as being excessively if not exclusively oriented to the middle class and as being impervious to the needs of minorities. Schools, medical and social agencies, and police and welfare departments are prime targets for such criticism. Studies of community power structures, traditional agency boards, and voluntary associations attest to the fact that small elitist groups exercise considerable power and influence (Hunter, 1953; Rossi, Dahl, and Rodwin, 1960) and that tight control by such groups has greatly contributed to the hostile disaffection of minority groups. But these conditions have also led to the development of counter-measures to surrender more power to minority groups and low income people through decentralized operations and the establishment of neighborhood organizations.

To what extent these countermeasures will reduce the alienation fo the poor is an open question. Neal and Seeman (1964) have shown that members of labor organizations have a stronger sense of control over events tha unorganized laborers, and they suggest that such organizations may provide a bulwark against the development of alienation in mass society. Dare (1968) in a study of the boards of directors of Atlanta's Economic Opportunity program (EOA), compared the characteristics of a sample of members serving in 1965 with a sample serving in 1966. He found that the advisers from low income groups who had been chosen by a combination of selection and election--selection by persons influential in the community and election by members of the community the advisers would represent--were more alienated and had fewer organizational memberships than the 1965 advisers who had been chosen by the EOA staff. In fact, the 1966 advisers had many more of the characteristics associated with the poor than the 1965 advisers. How effective participation on the EOA boards was in reducing alienation was not determined.

Because the individual person has become increasingly powerless to control his destiny and the institution too large and impersonal to be effective, bureaucracies are likely targets for activity and change - both from within and without. The participation of the poor in the work of bureaucracies potentially provides people with an increased sense of worth and power and the bureaucracies with an increased sense of purpose and effectiveness.

The extent to which public welfare departments offer realistic opportunities for participation or present peculiar problems has yet to be determined. Friedlander (1967) suggests that the structure of the public welfare system precludes useful citizen or client participation. He cites the "impermeability" of the system as a major reason for the development of the Welfare Rights Movement. The maze of legislative and administrative rules, regulations, policies and procedures that govern public welfare agencies is well known.

In contrast, Appleby (1968) suggests that the very rigidity of the system lends itself to the pursuit of the legal rights of welfare recipients. He says: "The most significant institutional change has occurred in the public welfare system where a clear set of standards and an impartial appeal system made effective legal advocacy possible."

Reviews of programs that include the principle of "participation of the poor" indicate that conflict almost invariably arises over lack of clarification regarding differences between policy-making and advisory functions. In a study of community action program in five California communities, Kramer (1969) observed just such disagreement. Ideally, the distinctly different functions of policy-making boards and advisory committees should be made clear and consistent. Boards usually have broad powers to make policy decisions; committees merely advise and make recommendations. Yet many committee members press for, and think they have, the powers of board members. Board member powers also necessarily have their limitations in respect to the details of decision-making.

The line between setting a broad course of action by boards and the administration of programs is thin. Generally, though a board has broad policy-making powers, administrators reserve the right to hire and fire staff members and to make specific day-to-day decisions about operations. Some of the problems caused by citizen participation on boards and committees arise partly because professional and lay persons fail to understand their legitimate responsibilities or inappropriately attempt to usurp each other's authority.

A board or committee member is affected by the constituency he represents. His response to and feeling of responsibility toward the board or committee will be different, depending on whether he was selected by the agency or elected by the people he represents. Dare, (1968) for example, reports that the Atlanta EOA election led the board members to believe that they had a mandate from the people of their neighborhoods for assuming authority and taking decisive action.

Morris and Rein (1967) draw this conclusion: it is unlikely that a community action project dependent on the approval and economic support of the government and of foundations can champion radical democracy. Glazer (1965) believes that "using government funds for ... controlled revolution will turn out to be too demanding for both federal administrators and local community action organizers." Perhaps the chief issue is the extent to which public programs can pay for, speed up, and legitimatize the pressure for participation and change and the extent to which the pressure

will find its way to extralegal and extragovernmental channels through riots, demonstrations, protests, or militant social action.

Apparently, many obstacles are likely to stand in the way of effective change through the membership of low income persons on committees and boards. To the extent such change fails to occur, it seems likely that the alienation of the poor from the social organizations and middle class society will increase. As the functions and powers of boards, committees, and social action groups are better defined, their limitations, as well as potentialities, should be better understood; whether they will be better accepted by the poor is another matter. However, such clarification may reduce their feeling of being misled. Although defining the limits and responsibilities is likely to induce resistance and anger, field observations suggest that clarity and consistency in the face of pressure may appear as evidence of respect for one's self and for others: an important influence in reducing alienation and frustration.

The Opportunity to Influence Decisions

It is probably safe to assume that within the affilitations available to the poor, hierarchies will develop whereby upwardly mobile persons will move from one organizational rung to another. But the pertinent question here is what opportunities are available to the poor to reach the first

Particularly in the past five years, the federal government has taken the lead in "attempting to open up the opportunity system" for disadvantaged and handicapped persons, including the poor, particularly Negroes. The public is confused as to the meaning of the term, and it is not clear how far most Americans are willing to go in this direction. Both of these conditions are apparent in the diverse programs launched under the Economic Opportunity Act. These programs range from those emphasizing changing the person through education, job-training, and job placement to those focused on "changing the system" through community social action. The system itself is charged with robbing the poor of power.

Membership on a board or committee means little or nothing if the member is without power. As suggested by Rossi, Dahl, and Rodwin (1960) power and influence can derive from a number of sources: control over money and credit; the mass media; groups with mutual interests; and knowledge, values, and "prestigeful interaction." To be effective, people must have access to such resources and be willing to take advantage of them. Unfortunately, the poor have had few resources and little opportunity to mobilize what they have. Conventional political and social methods of organizing have been severly limited in low-income communities. Such communities lack the individual, as well as the organizational, resources associated with social participation. The people who live in them are not usually the kind who take part in organizational activities.

Gans (1964) points to the transience of poor people and to their suspicion of landlords, storeowners, policemen, and politicians and suggests that their "involvement in the neighborhood is at best neutral, and more often, negative." Foskett (1967) says that participation is greatly

facilitated by the opportunity for communication with participants from other social and economic levels; the ability to articulate; the means to afford the time and expense involved; and the awareness of the relevance of participation to one's personal situation or value system. Poor people are unlikely to have opportunities, abilities, attitudes, and values like these.

The sheer burden of survival in low income communities often prevents low income persons from participating in organized activity--and, when they do, from being effective. "Many have heavy debts, physical illness and suffer the consequences of broken, disrupted homes. Many are poorly or inadequately educated. Some...distrust and are hostile toward professionals, sponsoring agencies--and sometime themselves" (Foskett, 1967).

Kramer (1969) found that splinter groups frequently formed in community action programs and that factional strife consumed much time and energy. Conflict occurred when differences arose among ethnic groups and between lower class members and staff members and staff members and directors. The issues varied from community to community, but few programs were free from the strife.

The fundamental issue in most struggles was the scramble for jobs. Because they have few resources, persons in low-income neighborhoods and organizations are particularly susceptible to intense competition. Ghetto life increases the likelihood that such feeling will be turned inward. According to Rainwater, (1968) "aggression directed within the group is one of the things that make it difficult to have any continuing organization (within the ghetto). It is one of the reasons why it is possible to organize people around specific crises that have an immediate impact that permits momentary focus on the fact that the outside world imposes these constraints. This quickly falls apart, however, and the group returns to the same old way of doing business."

Except for a handful of "select" leaders, poor people are systematically excluded from organizations. When they are allowed to participate, they feel "uncomfortable" and "treated as special." They see participation "as highly competitive," and "they feel that they are left out by their inability to dress well, to speak correctly, and so on....Lower-class people except to be manipulated, looked down upon and exploited by organizations" (Rainwater, 1968).

The severe problems involved and the very limited prospects for the participation of the poor in the work of boards and committees notwithstanding, experience does provide some perspective on the current situation. At best, few people participate actively in organized efforts--even in middle-class organizations. Information concerning individual participant characteristics is very limited. Perlman and Jones (1967) report: "No data are available on who actually participates in neighborhood organizations.... Information about participation in terms of either total number of or proportion of the target population is also scanty." Organized participation in neighborhood centers provides such a point from which to view the people involved. The Kirschner Associates (1966) early study of neighborhood centers found that one common thread appeared: "through all

forms of participation...it is the upper stratum of the poor which is involved and the 'problematic' and 'disreputable' poor are almost totally uninvolved except on an emergency basis...most of the poor have no involvement whatsoever." Just as most traditional community organizations have an upper middle-class bias, apparently most innovational neighborhood organizations have an upper lower class bias.

The experience of OEO programs also provides information about the participation of the poor in policy-making decisions. Hallman (1967) reports: "During the first years of the program 'only an inconsequential number of emblematic poor' served on Boards dominated and controlled by a social welfare-education-civic elite." The Kirschner Associates study found that "poor" board members were inarticulate and ineffective, that they felt frustrated, that their views were not respected, that they had no real control, and that they were "inadequate to cope with the complexity of affairs confronting them." Representatives of the poor were conservative "company men" who did not want to "rock the boat." Role conflict and reference group theory suggest that at least the socially mobile representatives of low income neighborhood groups tend to overidentify with their middle class colleagues on boards and committees and in the process alienate the groups they represent. The problem of recruitment and representation obviously loom large; the potential for formal or informal cooptation of the poor by the "establishment" is great.

Most representatives of the poor have thus far been appointed by mayors, city councilmen, or boards of county supervisors. Although OEO programs have used both selection and appointment, programs in several cities have held elections. According to Levitan (1967), the participation rate in these elections ranged from 1 to 5 percent of the eligible voters. He concludes that, "since these elections were widely publicized, particularly in low income neighborhoods, it was apparent that the vast majority of the poor did not participate." In contrast, Shostak (1966) points out that in Philadelphia voter interest was high and that the greatest interest and heaviest voting occurred in the poorest communities.

Despite the great handicaps under which the poor have labored, cautious optimism may be in order. Shostak says that the 12 spokesmen for the poor on the Philadelphia Antipoverty Action committee often voted together. They did not appear to be "overwhelmed" by the professional members; and they "successfully pressed for concrete and swift results, keeping up strong pressure to move proposals through the unfamiliar...bureaucratic channels and red-tape procedures that confront every anti-poverty proposal." He concludes that the contributions of these representatives of the poor far outweighed the problems raised by their participation. On the basis of a study of some 35 community action agencies, Hallman (1967) concludes that "after two years of experience, representatives of the poor are beginning to be influential in the governing boards... At first these representatives did not understand board proceedings and were inarticulate, but in recent months they have been more expressive and more forceful."

There are serious questions as to whether the participation of poor people on boards and committees will effectively increase the power and influence of low-income members. Their lack of access to the economic

and organizational sources of community power, the poverty in which they live, and the life styles that do not favor cooperation and commitment to long-term goals seem to block their organizational effectiveness. Evidently, only a few low-income people try to become advisers and policy-makers. But there is also evidence that low income people do produce leaders who can with experience become effective and influential.

Improving Communication

Communication between the poor and other members of the community is not and will not be easy. Citizen board and committee members representing different social and cultural backgrounds will probably find it hard to understand and accept each other. Staff members of education, health, and welfare agencies will be confronted with conflicting viewpoints and challenges to their prerogatives. They will probably be hampered by their inexperience and lack of training in communicating with citizen groups.

Findings from research related to small groups provide leads that may be useful in considering the issue of communication. Because these findings are drawn from studies of middle class groups in structured settings, they may be only indirectly applicable. In this discussion it is assumed that representatives of the poor on boards and committees are of lower social and economic status than other members and are drawn primarily from minority groups.

Studies of group behavior suggest that high status members of organizations are usually more active and influential and take more responsibility for the success of the group than others. In large boards and committees, members of the same ethnic groups usually interact exclusively with each other and exhibit similar patterns of behavior. Without a close working relationship, Negroes often withdraw from situations in which they must compete with white persons. In experimental studies Negro college students displayed marked social inhibition and impairment of intellectual ability when working with white students at cooperative problem-solving. Yet the opportunity to work repeatedly and successfully with the same persons increases the likelihood of Negroes and white persons participating equally (O'Donnell and Chilan, 1969).

To the extent that representatives of the poor are in the minority, they are likely to be under great pressure to conform to the will of the group. Whether a member conforms, however, may depend on whether he is accepted by other members. Neither the highly accepted member nor unacceptable member tends to conform: the one because he feels secure; the other because he sees no point in conformity. In general, an individual member of a board or committee may feel great pressure to conform when the issue is comparatively ambiguous; when his judgment will be made public; when most members hold the same view; and when he highly values membership in the group.

Individual members, particularly persons from minority groups, may reach outside the board or committee for strength and support. Welfare rights organizations and other groups will probably lend considerable power and influence to them. Low income members may compensate for what they lack

in organizational skill and resources by their knowledge and experience as poor persons or as the recipients of services.

In general, board and committee members will be most satisfied and collective efforts most productive when the group is task-oriented and is able to accomplish specific results in an equalitarian, democratic climate. Open discussion and decision-making in a group with full participation will also make the committee more effective. A democratic attitude and self-confident behavior from the staff will improve communication. Informal reports of successful staff-committee relations in public welfare agencies suggest that frankness, informality, and flexibility in working with low income groups are important to communication. Low income people usually prefer direct, specific clear statements to abstractions. Poor education and action-oriented life styles are likely to hamper their ability to understand and to make themselves understood when an intellectual, impersonal method is followed.

Apart from the access to and use made of these sources, low-income people generally rely on informal channels of communication and interaction. Dare (1968) reports that the chairman of the EOA's board of directors told members that "attempting to communicate with the city's poorer areas by radio and newspaper was less effective than working through ministers and their pulpits, knocking on doors, and using other types of personal contact." Specht also underscores the importance of ministers and churches for Negro communities. "The Negro church still remains the most formidable institution involving significant numbers of lower class Negroes and is the only indigenous institution of the community that also has its own personnel, facilities, and established means of communication" (Specht, 1966).

Socialization Through Participation

The life styles of low income persons represent an adaptation to but not an escape from poverty, and to this extent poor people remain inappropriately socialized. A large body of social and psychological research and theory indicates that importance of involing all members in the processes of the group if their motivation for changing and ability to do so are to be aroused and kept alive. Anthropologists point out that cultural change is unlikely unless the need for and advantages of change are clear to all members of a society and its leaders endorse and act to effect such change. Although social and behavioral scientists vary in detail, they agree that learning does not occur unless the person takes active part in the learning process and feels rewarded for his participation.

Thus, if poor people are to learn how to adapt to society, if they are to be motivated to become full-fledged members, if they are to acquire the competence needed for social and economic independence, they must participate in society's group processes and their participation must result in clear rewards such as more income, better jobs, better housing, and a fair share of economic abundance.

Increased participation in the planning and carrying out of public programs appears to hold out some promise. It reflects a recognition that our social and economic systems are significant in contributing the economic dependency and that poor people have a right to share in the shaping of social programs, especially those affecting them. It rests on the principle that active and effective involvement in community affairs rather than passive acceptance of adversity may counteract fatalistic and alienated life styles.

Although participation in the work of boards and committees is likely to involve only a small proportion of the poor, potentially it can provide the participant with a creative learning experience that can affect others in his neighborhood. However, if the participant has an unfavorable experience, he is just as likely to communicate his hostile or fatalistic attitude.

Revolutionary social changes demand that all people acquire new values and attitudes. Among the changes to which they must adapt are the demands of poor people for real equality. Through participation in group meetings with disadvantaged people, middle class members of boards and committees may acquire new knowledge and insight. Whether they do depends on many aspects, including the quality of group leadership and whether leadership promotes open communication.

Where Does Participation Stand?

Although government action is opening the way for increased participation by poor people in the work of public boards and committees and the reasons for their participation are strong, the question of whether participation works is unanswered. Can participation lead the way to power and real involvement in society for those now excluded by poverty and failure? Can it bring about changes that will reduce the amount of poverty or only changes that adjust the nature of services and the way in which they are delivered? Can it bridge the gap in communication between the rich and the poor? Can poor people acquire the skill, understanding, and flexibility they need to have a greater share of power, resources, and opportunities? More specifically, can the Nation provide opportunities for people to effectively engage in community decision-making through participation in the work of public boards and committees?

We can at least offer tentative answers to those questions. Leaning heavily on the theory and evidence we had cited, we tentatively conclude that the poor will have restricted opportunity to take part in the work of boards and committees, that participation will take the form more of advice-giving than of policy-making, that the poor moving upward socially will be selected for participation, and that participation will be conservative and traditional and probably not very effective. But we also believe that, in time, the representatives of the poor will more actively reflect the needs and aspirations of the people they represent, will more aggressively assert themselves during board and committee deliberations, will press for radical reform of the social system, and will be more effective in organizations.

Considerable conflict and pressure are likely to attend these changes, as members from low income and minority groups strive with increasing

determination to get their share of democracy's blessings. Such conflict will be reduced if real participation is encouraged; if agencies are ready to listen to and communicate with constituent groups if the limits of power and the functions of advisory committees, policy boards, and independent social action groups are clearly defined; if service agencies become more responsive to demands for change; and if other opportunities are simultaneously opened to poor people to attain full membership in the social and economic system. If, however, participation is denied and opportunities are blocked, the Nation can expect increased alienation, hostility, withdrawal into separation, and a widening of the gulf between the justifiably resentful poor and the rest of society (O'Donnell and Chilman, 1969).

NEIGHBORHOOD MULTI-SERVICE CENTERS

A great deal has been written over the past eight years or so about the deficiencies of "fragmented services" and the need for improvement of neighborhood-based service systems related to the perceived needs and wishes of the people who live in the neighborhood. A number of multi-service neighborhood centers have been established, therefore, especially under the aegis of OEO or NIMH (community mental health centers). Yet no sufficiently rigorous studies have been completed, to date, to provide an objective assessment of this approach. This is not such a new concept as some seem to suppose - the movement harks back to the days of the Neighborhood Settlement Houses, which were at their strongest before the 1930's. Subsequently they were generally abandoned as representing too amateurish an effort and failing to provide a sufficiently high quality of services - one of the problems being that the various professionals working in such centers missed the stimulation and sense of identity that derives from being based in one's own profession, such as in a social agency, health clinic and hospital, etc.

Although many strong arguments can be made for the "one stop multi-service center" oriented to families in neighborhoods, it is far from being proven that such centers are necessarily effective in delivering a high quality of services to neighborhood members.

Despite the recognized problems in developing a multi-service center approach to serve poor families and their children, this strategy is recommended as one component of the project or projects suggested in this proposal. As stated at the beginning of this paper, the tertiary (human service) systems are inadequately organized to serve the needs of the poor.

Quite naturally, this complex should be organized in such a way as to be "culturally" and pragmatically relevant to low income families.

Assessment of Multi-service Programs

Among the research questions that should be asked re. coordinated neighborhood services are the following:

(a) Are such centers actually used by the neighborhood people who need them?

If so, how effectively are they used and under what conditions do they seem to get maximum, "effective" use -- with "effectiveness" being operationally defined.

(b) What kinds of organizational and administrative problems arise? How are they resolved, if they are resolved?

(c) Neighborhood Centers which include participation of the poor in their planning and administration supposedly reduce the sense of powerlessness on the part of the poor. To what extent does this actually happen -- for whom -- under what circumstances?

Is it possible to realistically increase the "power of the poor" at neighborhood levels, especially in face of the fact that most programs depend on state and federal financing for most of their support? (See also research section on participation of the poor on boards of public agencies.)

In the actual program operation, in which an attempt is made to coordinate health, welfare, educational, and vocational services for the families in the project, what actually happens? This attempt also should in lude trying to make these services more "relevant" and "responsive" to the poor. To what extent does this occur, in respect to what services, under what conditions? What are the results -- in terms of more effective use of these services -- with effective being operationally defined.

RECOMMENDED RESEARCH STRATEGIES

The emphasis in this paper is on multi-pronged intervention in respect to changing the secondary and tertiary systems of the poverty environment (housing, employment opportunities, etc., and health, welfare, legal, educational and vocational services available to poor children and their families. This type of program intervention calls for multi-variate program research. This kind of intervention and accompanying research is needed because: (a) the preceding over-views of available research attached to various anti-poverty efforts indicate that partial approaches, especially those aimed primarily at changing individual development and functioning, apparently fail to be effective for most poor people. There are very strong indications that a more total approach to changing environmental systems and helping individuals and families is required if poverty and its corrosions are to be significantly reduced. Yet is is not known if such an ambitious, costly, difficult approach actually would have the anticipated benefits -- or what side-effects, both positive and negative, might appear and (b) more knowledge is generally needed regarding the interactive effects of the social, psychological, physical and economic environment on the individual (NICHD, 1968). Basic knowledge stands to gain from program research when it is wisely planned. Action programs involve social experimentation which provides an opportunity for examining the effects of many factors on social and behavioral problems (Campbell, 1969).

In the proposal presented here, it is suggested that experimental program research and development centers which use a multi-discipline team

be established. They should be jointly planned by personnel from colleges and universities and federal and state governments. These centers need to be coordinated in a sort of consortium effort somewhat as in the case of the Regional Educational Laboratories under the sponsorship of the Office of Education (Title IV, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965). Planned program and research strategies should be cooperatively developed at these various centers so that variations on central themes and issues might be carried out at different centers.

In the development of program research, the following recommendations are made:

1. Experimental and comparable control groups be used.

2. Baseline data to be attained as to the demographic and selected psychological and physical characteristics of both children and their family members of both experimental and treatment groups.

3. Basline data also be obtained regarding the demographic and other systems characteristics of the community in which these children and families live.

4. A close coordination be maintained between program and research personnel in planning and carrying out both the treatment and study phase of the project.

5. Projects planned to last <u>at least</u> three years with assessment of effectiveness deferred for at least two years -- the first year of such a program is often not a fair test of its potential impact in that the sheer effort of getting it launched does not provide an adequate sample of its eventual operational efficiency.

6. Measure of effectiveness be carefully selected and directed specifically to the program goal of helping children and families move out of poverty. Emphasis should be placed on <u>behavior change</u> primarily because evidence is lacking that changes in measured information and attitudes necessarily bears a relationship to changed behavior. To the extent that information and attitude questionnaires appear to have value, they tend to be much better at finding differences between groups of people, rather than measuring changes within the person. Futhermore, findings emerging primarily from studies of operant conditioning indicate that changed behavior with its resultant changing feed-back mechanisms often precedes, rather than follows, changes in measurable attitudes and information. Elaborate schedules to measure attitudes and information, interesting though they may be, often tend to bog down a research project in terms of administering the questionnaires and dealing with the mountains of accumulated data. Then, too, the meaning of such instruments to poor people may be quite different from their meaning to middle class program and research personnel.

In the author's experience as both a researcher and research analyst and reviewer, questionnaires directed toward assessment of parental child-rearing life-styles yield much better results if parents are asked what they do in response to various kinds of their own child's behavior than if more abstract attitudinal questions are asked. Such questionnaires, if used, should be supplemented by planned observations by a group of trained observers -- not in an artificial laboratory setting, but in the home and in the natural, ongoing operation of the program (Chilman, 1970b).

7. With program assessment goals being primarily oriented toward measurement of actual behaviors associated with an escape from poverty, the following behavioral change criteria might be used in reference to families.

change in employment status of parents
change in housing and neighborhood situation of family
change in family health practices -- for instance, do children actually receive regular health care; does mother actually use contraceptives effectively
change in family indebtedness
change in educational-vocational training status of parents
change in community participation by parents
change in marital status of parents (divorced, married, etc.)
change in child-rearing behavior of both parents -- for example, Schaefer has found that positive involvement with the child is a critical dimension in maternal behavior related to positive intellectual growth of the child; enrichment of the child's experiences has also been found to be important as well as democratic, supporting child-rearing behaviors plus firm, mild, consistent discipline on the part of both father and mother.
change in availability and use of community resources; day care, educational, recreational, health, etc.

It is obvious that it would be necessary to develop scales to measure change of each parent along scales related to the criteria presented above. A central question is, how much did each family move: from where to where -- rather than where were families, on the average, at the end of the project. Such holistic, and static measures, when used above, tend to obscure positive changes that may be obtained in the case of some individuals. When accurate change data are available on individuals, they may be divided into sub-groups (maximum to minimum change) and factors in the individual, his family, the program, and the larger systems then can be assessed in an attempt to identify what variables are associated with what degrees of change.

The above suggestions may well be simplistic and inelegant. They grow out of analyses of a large number of program research projects attempting to deal with the measurement of psycho-social changes in families. While much interesting work has been done along this line (especially by Ludwig Geismar in his studies of multi-problem families and in studies by

a research tem at the Community Services Society of New York) the results have generally been disappointing (Chilman, 1967).

8. Since a child's potential for an escape from poverty lies partly within his own growth and development, the following criteria of positive change in the child might be used.

    1. Changes in the child's measured intelligence, vocabulary, developmental level.
    2. Changes in the child's self-concept (for young children, measured through various projective and observed behavior techniques, including coping style as studied by Murphy (1961, 1969)).
    3. Changes in child's capacity for impulse-control (observational techniques to be used.).
    4. Growth in child's sense of individual, racial, and sex identity (projective techniques and observation).
    5. Changes in inter-personal styles of relating with adults and peers.

Observations should be made both in homes and pre-school settings.

As in the case of measuring changes in parents, it is suggested that the movement of each child along a scale (scales) be used, from start of his participation in the program to the end. Sub-groups should be developed from obtained data with analyses of minimum to maximum change groups compared to family change and base-line data for child, family, and community in order to examine what factors seem to be associated with positive change.

Handling of this data and family data must be also linked to findings regarding the operation of the program itself. Thus, continuing planned observation and analysis of the program operation is called for. This requires a close, cooperative relationship between research and program personnel, including an atmosphere of mutual trust and open communication. Insofar as possible it seems best that research personnel be employed who have had experience in early childhood education, social work, and other related fields. Researchers whose identities and values are completely on the side of research often communicate inadequately with program staff members and thus fail to learn what is actually happening in the program. On the other side of the coin, it is important to provide program personnel with orientation to the research project -- its rationale, goals, methods of measurement.

Along these lines, it is further recommended that action projects of the kind suggested should not be regarded as "pure experiments" that are held rigidly to their pre-planned course, regardless of what is happening. Program staff people generally cannot tolerate program ineffectiveness and apparent problems. They usually want to change programs in mid-course if, in their judgment, such changes are indicated. It would seem best to cooperate with this value system, <u>but keep track of the changes</u> and, to the extent possible take measures before and after changes.

Another important observation is that many apparently highly successful

programs seem to owe their success to an appreciable extent, to the personal qualities of the people leading them: their warmth of personality, "charisma", flexibility, "commitment", energy, and the like. There are indications from studies in the field of therapy and casework that personality and value characteristics of the therapist or caseworker are of great importance in therapy outcomes. In the author's own observation, educational, health, and welfare programs that really "go" often are strongly affected by the positive, personal characteristics of their leaders and supporting staff. This is one reason that transfer of seemingly successful program methods from one locate to another are often unsuccessful. Interviews, observations, attitudinal, and personality tests of leaders and key staff members are therefore recommended.

Assessment of Change in Secondary Systems

This proposal calls for changes in certain aspects of poverty environment in respect to the "secondary systems" -- housing, availability of jobs, community services (police, sanitation, etc.) income support, availability of child care services and needed transportation. An effort to provide these system changes is a very large, expensive community organization job.

Program research in this area calls for measurement of progress toward each of these goals, methods used in attempting to reach them, blocks that occur, and the like.

Cost Assessment

It is important that an accounting be kept of the entire program costs of the total project (aside from research costs) with separate accounting for different program components. It is essential to know the "costs benefits" ratio of such a project -- a vital aspect of its practicability on a larger scale.

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